

we are reaping the whirlwind. They sacrificed the rights of the enslaved, in order to secure a Union; and God has decreed that, in consequence of that sacrifice, the Union shall be dashed in pieces, 'as a potter's vessel is broken.' Wherefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and rebelliousness, and stay thereon: therefore THIS INIQUITY shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant.

Resolved, That although Non-Resistance may appropriately criticize one feature of the enterprise of John Brown (as they do one feature of the else rightful and glorious enterprise of Washington, Hancock and Adams)—no one but a Non-Resistant is authorized to complain of the use of arms by the slaves, and in their behalf; and that the measure that has been taken on John Brown's pikes and muskets by men in the State who have always praised the Revolutionary War, and by men in the Church who have always bitterly opposed Non-Resistance, is fresh evidence of the dishonesty of the one, and the hypocrisy of the other.

Resolved, That if capital punishment be justifiable in any case, then a tragical mistake has been made in Virginia; and Gov. Wise, Senator Mason, and the whole body of Virginia slaveholders should have been placed on the scaffold, instead of freedom loving John Brown and his companions, under the law. 'He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.'

Whereas the attempt of John Brown and his associates at Harper's Ferry, to emancipate a considerable number of the slaves in Virginia, ended in their destruction on the scaffold and in the mortal conflict; and whereas, the authorities of Virginia claimed to have jurisdiction of the case, to the exclusion of any jurisdiction on the part of the government of the United States, which claims were yielded to by the latter; and whereas, Gov. Wise officially proclaims to the whole country, the ability of Virginia to protect herself against all her enemies; and whereas, if there are any other persons legally implicated in the doings of John Brown, the courts of Virginia and the courts of the United States are competent to dispose of them, therefore,

Resolved, That the appointment of an Inquisitorial Committee, by the United States Senate, at the instigation of Senator Mason, the infamous author of the Fugitive Slave Law, with full powers to call for persons and papers in relation to the Harper's Ferry tragedy, is an act of flagrant usurpation which ought to be resisted by every free State; is palpably oppressive, insulting and malignant in its purpose, and a daring step toward 'crushing out' every vestige of civil and personal liberty at the North, by procuring such action on the part of Congress as shall make the liberty of speech, as against slavery, constructive 'incendiarism' and 'treason.'

Resolved, That the satanic design of this inquisition must be palpable to the dullest vision, in view of the fact that the Senate, by a strict party vote refused to adopt Senator Trumbull's amendment, also inquire into the seizure of a U. S. arsenal in Minnesota, by the 'Border Ruffians,' who, steal therefrom their 'weapons, went over into Kansas, wounded and murdered its free citizens, and perpetrating an extended series of horrible outrages in the service of slavery.

Resolved, That in giving their unanimous support to Senator Mason's resolution, after this refusal to allow an impartial investigation, the Republican Senators of the North not only studied themselves, but became accessory to all the villany wrapped up in that resolution, and deserve the severest condemnation.

#### A PALPABLE HIT.

[There is a rich vein of satire in the following document, which purports to be a translation from the late Message of President Juarez, of Mexico, upon the relations of that country with the United States. We copy from the *Sandusky Register*.]

I regret to inform you that there has been no improvement in the affairs of the United States since my last message; and I am again obliged to ask the earnest attention of the Constituent Assembly to the unhappy condition of that Republic.

That lately flourishing, though now afflicted confederacy, at the adoption of its fundamental Constitution, was so imprudent and so far carried away by an injudicious, if not superstitious, regard for the principles of liberty, upon which they had fought for and achieved their independence of their mother country, that they inserted in their bill of rights some very 'glittering generalities'—such as 'all men are created equal and possessed of certain inalienable rights,' and among these are enumerated the 'right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' and 'that governments are instituted of no rightful force except by consent of the governed.' These generalities, although ignored from the beginning by the people, as they continued still to hold large numbers of native born citizens in slavery, and many, indeed, who had gallantly fought and bled in the battles of the Revolution, still these taking 'rhetorical flourish,' as they are now called, served for gala day and Fourth of July orations, and became popular in the Northern provinces; so much so, that the masses, who are not well informed in statesmanship, and have few books except the Westminster Catechism and New England Primer, have become quite fanatical in devotion to those airy principles or flourishes.

They have within a few years inaugurated a new party by which they are plotting the downfall of the Democratic or slave party, and have issued their pronouncements to that effect. These bold attempts to overthrow the long established party in power, and interfere with their prospective rights to the government and the labor of the latest classes, have aroused the Government to the necessity of enlarging the area of slavery and thus hold in check the Northern disorganizers or Liberals. This is unfortunate for us as this is the only direction in which slavery can be made profitable.

It is but lately that mobs of armed thousands from one of the provinces of that distracted Republic broke a weak and defenceless Territory which they vainly boast to be the palladium of their liberties—usurped the legislative power and held possession by countenance and aid of the central government and its standing army, for months, under a reign of terror and barbarity horrid to contemplate. These mobs were empowered at least by the superior numbers and activity of the Liberals or fanatics, but not without the destruction of many lives and vast aggregations of property.

Retaliatory raids are common, carrying off property and slaves. So likewise are negro hunting with dogs and guns, and kidnapping free citizens and carrying them into hopeless slavery. Laws reducing free men and women by thousands to subject slavery are being enacted and executed. So they even 'frame mischief by law.'

There is no safety for citizens of one State traveling in another; nor do the laws of a province protect the lives or property of its own citizens. Although all their fundamental constitutions provide for freedom of speech and the press, such is the anarchy reigning throughout the Southern provinces, that the least expression objectionable to the dominant faction is visited with whipping, tarring and feathering, destruction of property, expulsion into exile and every indignity that malice and hatred can invent, and even death. Suspicion, even, without word or act, is sufficient to expose innocent citizens to such horrid barbarities. Whole communities of peaceable and God-fearing men, women and children, have been driven thus into exile. Mobs and Lynch law and murders are the order of the day, while the central government looks complacently on, using no effort to protect any interest except that of the tyrants and encouraging these enormities, if in no other way by its indulgence and inattention.

Even its Congress is but an unorganized mob, split into factions, pitted against each other and excited by the most intense hatred. For weeks it has been unable to elect a presiding officer—no laws can be enacted—no appropriations made—and the government squandering its millions on favorites, is bankrupt—its creditors ruined and clamoring for justice—civil war raging, and even the members of the dominant party threatening daily the dissolution of the confederacy should the Liberals be successful at the ballot boxes and elect a Liberal President.

Such, I regret to say, is a faint, but as far as it goes truthful, expose of the present state of that afflicted country. I therefore recommend that an appropriation be made, and authority placed in my hands by which this Republic may exert such friendly mediation between the contending sections and factions as may be productive of peace and harmony throughout the extent of that miserable and distracted realm.

From the Christian Luminary.

#### PRO-SLAVERY PERSECUTION IN KENTUCKY.

EDITOR LUMINARY:—Your readers have been apprized of a second expulsion of missionaries, teachers and other laborers from Kentucky. Some additional facts and considerations, may not be inappropriate.

Bracken county, the theatre of the last mob, is on the northern border of the state. This is the native county of myself, Bro. Hanson and Grignon. In this county, is one of the most flourishing free churches in the state. Here, I had previously labored for several successive years. Here, was a prosperous school, which had been under the care of anti-slavery teachers for some nine or ten years. Here, too, was one of the best communities in Kentucky. A neighboring slaveholder, a man of intelligence, and high position in society, said—'It is the best neighborhood I have seen in Kentucky. It is a community of industrious, sober, upright citizens. I wish to heaven, all Kentucky was just like it.'

It was in this community, I thought I might say for months, at least until passion should subside in Madison county. I think I was not rash, or presumptuous in this decision. Soon, however, a meeting was gathered from Mason, Lewis and Fleming counties, to drive out Bro. Davis. Immediately after this, Bro. Mallet, a young man from New York, who had been teaching some three years, (in the district referred to) was mobbed in an adjoining town, by some 60 or 80 persons. Immediately following this, was the mob meeting in Bracken county. This meeting was large, and excited by the speeches of some pro-slavery lawyers, in hot haste, resolved 'to move' myself and others, if they had to do so 'by physical force.' The meeting was a gathering of citizens from two counties.

To all this, we were not careless lookers on. We went to prominent citizens, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, reassured them that our positions were peaceful, Christian, and legitimate. We said, we seek the overthrow of slavery, but not by mobocracy, or insurrectionary means. As we saw the tide of opposition increasing, we sought the best legal counsel. This said, you and your friends may resist, but the attempt, under the present administration, is liable to be construed into an insurrection. We need a different administration.

The same counsel said, you may appeal to the civil authorities, which is your privilege and right, but this will be of no avail. We applied and found it so. Statutes are insufficient when mob law reigns.

Several of the civil officers were in the mob meeting, and two or more were in the committee of fifty, who came to warn us to leave. These are perjured men, for they are sworn to maintain the constitution and laws of the state and of the United States. These constitutions and laws, guarantee to each citizen liberty of person, and of speech.

Such officers as were opposed to this lawlessness, and disposed to maintain constitutional rights, felt that under the present panic, they could not. From reflection and observation among the people, it was thought by friends, that our quiet withdrawal would give opportunity and occasion, for this reaction, rather than our presence.

Also, that for the next nine or twelve months, we could do more for the cause of freedom and righteousness, by working in the free states where the power is, than in the slave states. Wise tactics are better than reckless bravado. Some men, not strangers to history, have retreated to better fields, saved their strength and numbers, for a better day—a day of ultimate success.

For some such reasons, we find the apostles went away from Thessalonica and Berea, when a violent uproar was created against them. These, we suppose, were wise and lacked not courage. We left out because we had violated any law. One of the mob-committee said, 'Mr. Fee, you are smart enough not to violate any law. This (referring to mobocratic action,) is our only means.' Nor did we leave for want of interest in the cause, or field of labor. Here, was a spot more dear than any other on earth. It was the land of our youthful sports, the home of relatives. The people were doubly dear, because of their fidelity to righteous principles, in seasons of trial. To see the school closed, the pulpit vacated, the land of cherished hope, now overrun with lawlessness, was to me, one of the severest trials of life. To be shut out from my own house, was a trial, but it was a still greater trial to be deprived of the privilege of preaching in that land, the only gospel that can save. But God will take care of his

cause, and make the wrath of man praise him. We shall see this.

Some one is ready to say, why did you not fight? We answer there are times in unpopular reforms, when resistance is not practical, though at other times it is right. Again, it is not unfrequent that more is accomplished for the cause of righteousness at large, by suffering, than by physical resistance. Had Sumner shot down Brooks; as the latter approached him, the moral effect upon the world for good, would probably have been lost. By quietly suffering, the indignation of the world was aroused against the perpetrators of crime. God speedily cut off Brooks and Butler as he has often done some of those who have assailed us. Had we resisted successfully, the North would have said, 'well done; now let others do the same, and then let the slaves rise up and do likewise; let the people of the South fight it out, it is none of our business.' Thus, would the North have contented herself with selfish inaction. No benevolent principles would have been cultivated, by patiently and perseveringly toiling for the good of others. Let us so conduct this struggle as to develop a nation of benevolent workers. The remedy—the means to be employed, we reserve for our next.

JOHN G. FEE.

Cincinnati, O., Feb., 10, '60.

#### RICHARD REAF ON JOHN BROWN.

[Richard Reaf, the Secretary of State under John Brown's Provisional Government, in a letter to the N. Y. Tribune thus speaks of his former friend and associate.]

John Brown in his heart despised the Republican party, whether rightly or wrongfully, of course I do not undertake to say. He called it a party who had assumed the name of Liberty, and prostituted it to base purposes. He said it degraded all men to be free, equal, entitled to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and yet deprecated any interference with Slavery in the States where it existed; a craven-heartedness which met only with his contempt. So, putting no faith in the professions of that party he undertook to abolish Slavery himself.

They who assert that, in this enterprise, he was moved rather by hatred of the slaveholder than affection for the slave, do his memory most foul wrong. The love of his heart comprehended and encompassed both. He believed that unless the interference of some third party should anticipate and thus prevent the interference of slaves themselves, these latter would, one day, overthrow the institution by a bloody war of extermination against their masters; and it was to prevent the havoc and carnage which, as he conceived, threatened the South, that he entered upon his ill-fated movement. For, he argued, the same elements of resistance to oppression which would result in all bloody excesses if not wisely and properly directed, might be made subservient to the accomplishment of high purposes of humanity, if the governing intelligence was at their side. Wherefore, in order to supply that intellectual sagacity which the slaves lacked, and thus enable them to achieve their freedom, while restraining them from the cruelties into which their instincts would hurry them, he gave himself to this enterprise.

In regard to his personal character, I must, though I reside in the South, where I expect to live and die, be permitted to say that it has been most studiously and elaborately misrepresented. There never lived a man whose desire to promote human welfare and human happiness was more inexhaustible. Men have grown hoarse with calumniating his memory, who were never worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoes. Venal politicians, grown sleek upon public plunder, and men who cannot perform an act that is not stained with some deadly sin, have lifted up their hands in holy horror, and yelled out their execrable execrations against his name. John Brown was a true hero—no virtue-prattler. He was a real man; and when he did speak, the utterance was from his heart, and not his lungs. His faith was very simple. He desired society to be pure, free, unselfish—full of liberty and love. He believed it capable of such realization. The whole history of his life is that of an upward endeavor.

'Liberty' that was the key to his soul; the master-passion which controlled all his other ambitions, personal, social, or political. It swayed him like a frenzy. But he had too much individualism of character, and he was too sensitive to the sufferings of others to be able to reason calmly on the every-day concerns of life, where abstract right is modified by a thousand conditions of expediency; and he was too indignant against all forms of wrong to be able to discriminate between a theory and its practice; and thus, by his very self-denial, his benevolence, his moral courage, he was precipitated upon the deed which brought him to the scaffold. Seized by this principle of liberty, he proceeded, as he thought, to carry it out; never stopping to think how it was limited and restrained on all sides by other principles; thus drawing his purpose so near the eye as to shut down all other things; and thus, too, becoming a monomaniac, mistaking his own conscientiousness for a call upon him from Heaven.

I have now a word to say in relation to myself. It is known that I was formerly associated with John Brown, and it is known that I now reside in the South. That which follows is in regard thereto. There was a time when I thought our contemplated insurrection to be absolutely right. I had occasion to alter my opinion; thus, the evidence upon which I committed myself to that enterprise was available only in the court of conscience. Now in the depths of my being, even below the law of distinct consciousness, there lurked the instinct and impulse of another law that forbade the exercise of those feelings which connect themselves with such a deed. With this impulse, thus dimly working, the promises I had made came in conflict; and my conscience, divided against itself, plucked me on and plucked me off, suggesting the resolution but preventing the performance. However much I multiplied reasons up from a depth in my nature, which reflection has never fathomed, an impulse against it which I could neither account for nor resist. I could not translate that which appeared to be an outward call of duty into a free, spontaneous moral impulse; and, as I could not perform it until I had so translated it, of course it was not performed at all.

Upon returning from Europe, I passed into the Southern States, for the purpose of investigating the nature and character of that institution, to oppose which, the faculties and resources of my being were so taxed and strained. I have my own thoughts, my own feelings, in relation thereto; and it may chance that in the end, it will appear I have not been as unimpaired of my duties to humanity as have some of those who, at the safe distance of a thousand miles, are so profuse in lip-philanthropy. But I have gained one lesson which I thought never to have learned. This

namely: that while the North is more than her professions, the South is better than her laws.

#### REV. DANIEL WORTH.

EDITORS OF WREATHAN:—You published some time since a short communication from Daniel Worth—my father, lying in jail at Greensboro, North Carolina, on a charge of speaking, and circulating documents against Human Slavery. The aforesaid article further stated that, although conscious of no crime against God or man, he was taken by the good people of North Carolina, tried, with three lawyers against him, he pleaded his own cause, and hurried to a felon's cell, as a person unfit to be left at liberty.

A bond of \$5000 was required for good behavior; by which was understood sealed lips on everything unpalatable to a portion of the Southerners, a bond which he refused to give. This man, born on southern soil, having passed his youth and early manhood there, and having returned after a lapse of near 40 years, with his wife, on the confines of the grave, since gone to her eternal rest—this man I say, must be made a sacrifice on the altar of American Slavery. North Carolina, today, punishes her citizens for asserting the doctrines held by the founders of this Republic, and for practically carrying out the doctrines of Christianity. Publish it to the world.

If liberty of speech and thought are to be annihilated, let it be known to what agency we owe this state of things.

Daniel Worth is known very extensively at the North, and especially in the Christian organization to which he belongs. Let every W. M. Minister and every friend of liberty circulate petitions, to our National Congress, praying that the rights of our citizens be respected and protected, in other cases as well as the one under consideration. Let the voices of thousands of Northern freemen be heard, demanding justice for their fellow citizens. Let the trial be made, that we may see what the Representatives of the people at Washington will do when appealed to.

Thousands of friends will exert themselves in behalf of Daniel Worth by circulating petitions in his behalf if called upon.

Not as the idea of punishing a man with imprisonment, pillory and whipping, for speaking in favor of the oppressed, it is the legitimate result following the preaching of a pro-slavery gospel. I had rather see Daniel Worth in his present position, confined on the grounds he is, than to see him free and in the pulpit, ignoring the great reforms of the day.

Yours, W. W. WORTH.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGE.

COLUMBUS, Feb. 14, 1860.

Alfred J. Anderson v. Thomas Milliken et al. Error to Common Pleas Butler county. Gholsen J. delivered the opinion of the court.

Held.—1. Persons having mixture of African blood, but a preponderance of white blood, or being more white than black, and being otherwise qualified, were by the settled construction of the section of Constitution of 1802, regulating the exercise of the elective franchise, entitled to enjoy the right of an elector.

No change was made in this respect by the corresponding section of the Constitution of 1851.—The same persons being otherwise qualified, are not to be excluded on account of color, but are entitled under the present constitution to vote at all elections.

2. The plaintiff being one of the description of persons so entitled to vote, having one-eighth of African blood, and his voting having been refused for that reason only, at the election in 1856 for electors of President and Vice President of the United States, by the judges of the election, against whom he brought an action for such refusal.

Held, That he was entitled to recover for the violation of a right conferred by the Constitution.

The decision was unanimous.

#### THE SENTENCE OF STEPHENS AND HAZLETT, THE HARPER'S FERRY INSURGENTS.

After the finding of the verdict in the case of Hazlett, at Charleston, on Saturday last, L. C. Gould filed a motion for arrest of judgment.—On Monday morning the Judge decided on the several points raised by the counsel, and ordered the prisoners to be brought into court for sentence. The several questions were propounded to each of the prisoners, as to whether they had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon them. Stephens in a firm and distinct voice replied that 'he had, if it pleased the court.'

Hazlett also re-pledged in the affirmative, although in an agitated manner. Stephens continuing, said that although most of the testimony in his case was true, yet, in regard, to what had been stated by one or two of the witnesses, that he desired the 'damned town' (Harper's Ferry) be burned, as also the people, 'he declared most positively he had never made use of any such language, and called upon God and the Court to witness his declaration. Where he was known this imputation would be no denial. He had also to say that he had no fault to find either with his treatment at the hands of the authorities since a prisoner, nor with the proceedings on his trial, all had been done for him that could reasonably be expected—his counsel had done his utmost, but he appealed to the Court, that as he had extended mercy to others, he thought he might expect some degree of mercy. But whatever might be, he would meet it as he became a man, unshrinkingly.

Upon his concluding, Hazlett addressed the Court. He said he had a few words to say.—The testimony given against him was false, one witness in particular was mistaken. He spoke of the testimony in regard to his identity, and said that he had always been in the habit since he had a beard of shaving it off every three weeks. He stated that since a prisoner he had been treated most kindly; that his counsel Messrs Green and Butts, had done more for him than northern counsel could have done, and that since he had been in Virginia and her people, he had formed an entirely different opinion on the whole subject of slavery to what he had entertained previously. Hazlett, in the delivery of his remarks, was considerably agitated, which probably arose from the fact that he was unused to public speaking.

Judge Kenny then proceeded to pass sentence on the prisoners, which he did in the most feeling and impressive terms. He sentenced each of them to be hung publicly on Friday, the 16th day of March next, between the hours of 10 o'clock A. M., and 2 o'clock P. M.

Immediately after passing sentence, the Court remanded the prisoners to jail, and the crowd gathered together to witness the proceedings quietly dispersed.

#### BRO. CAMPBELL'S SON IN THE SLAVE TRADE.

From the Christian Luminary.

I have just learned that Alexander Campbell, Jr., last week paid \$1000 for a young man, in the town of Wellsburg. He is said to be a very worthy, and industrious man, and of the strictest integrity, but poor. I do not know whether he is a Disciple or not, but my opinion is, that he is a Methodist. The man who got the \$1000, I am told is a Presbyterian. Mr. Campbell is a member of the church at Bethany. Should my opinion be correct, it affords some relief to the horror of this case. The conspirators did not venture to put the iron upon their victim, where he was known, but Rogers like, deceived him for Louisiana. I don't know what Bro. Franklin thinks of this way of 'using up the Methodists,' but I am sure he will be glad that this poor man was not a member of the church either at Wellsburg or Bethany. If the Disciples and Presbyterians, will only confine their operations to banding, and shipping off the Methodists, it will not seem so bad, but if they get to selling one another up here, as they do in Kentucky, I don't know what we shall do.

'We're all united heart and hand, Jangled in one hand completely.'

Yours very truly, CTRUS M'NEELY.

George W. Bishop of New Haven has sued The Palladium for \$10,000 damages, for publishing that he was charged with kidnapping and selling into slavery a negro boy.

#### Communications.

##### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR: We closed our first series of Conventions in New York, with the Anniversary of the State Anti Slavery Society in Albany, the capital. In tone and character, it did not differ from those already reported in the Bugle, except in the addition to our speaking force, of Mr. Wendell Phillips. This name ensured us a large attendance and profound attention; for even Albany has heard of him, and begins at length to appreciate him.

Among the Resolutions adopted, were the following. The vote was almost unanimous as the discussions were patient, thorough and searching:

Resolved, That when the Governor and Legislature of New York, by a recent unanimous vote, invited the Governors and Legislatures of two of the most violent slave States to visit the Capital, as the guests of the State, under circumstances so monstrous and revolting as now exist between the two grand divisions of the country, they perpetrated an act not shamelessly servile to the slave States, and too atrociously insulting to their constituency and the people generally, to be adequately described, or appropriately rebuked, in any language known to mortal tongues.

Resolved, That the Church of the slaveholding States that permits and practices the breeding, buying and selling of God's own image like cattle, trampling down marriage, and the whole family relation, forbidding its own Bible and all other books to the enslaved, is most emphatically the synagogue of Satan! And every Church and minister in the North that does not so regard and treat it, is false to the Christian name and trust, and therefore unworthy of countenance, fellowship or support.

Resolved, That we have seen without astonishment that slaveholders and their accomplices, in defending the accursed slave system, are driven to deny and ignore all the self-evident truths pertaining to Human Rights—that even their gifted and ever-zealous ally, the late Rufus Choate, in their behalf, blasphemed the Declaration of Independence into a sounding tirade of 'GLITTERING GENERALITIES!' But when an eminent teacher of religion, like Henry Ward Beecher, for the same unhallowed purpose, boldly inculcates that sin also is but another 'glittering generality,' that there is no sin in itself; that 'nothing is bad, per se; and nothing is good per se'; and that 'these are only scholastic subtleties'; and that the great American Board of Missions is a true exponent of Christianity, and not only worthy of support, but is pre-eminently the chosen instrumentality for the world's salvation, notwithstanding that its religion includes slaveholding and slave-trading, even to the separation of parents and children; we are constrained to believe, from such revelations, that the age of wonders has not ceased—and that slavery has done its most fearful, fatal work on the Northern Pulpit—though we cannot but rejoice that the infidelity of Beecher is now revealed; and that not even his brilliant eloquence and shining talents can longer mislead the people, perverting and poisoning the public conscience and character.

The Resolution of censure for inviting Southern Legislatures and Governors North, to celebrate Bachelors' Sacraments in honor of Slavery and the Union is adopted as well to Ohio, as to New York. Your notice of those disgraceful, drunken orgies, at Columbus and Cincinnati, was none too severe. Are Republicans in O. to never to see that in your Dennisons and Gholsens, as well as Swans and Corwins, you have as deadly foes to Freedom, as blasphemed her name in Virginia or the Carolinas! Yes; and a thousand times more dangerous!

One Resolution, you will observe, relates to Henry Ward Beecher. I am glad he stands at last, revealed. God grant he may be disclosed to himself! To beg and bless Sharp's rifles for free, white men in Kansas, with every Northern State to sustain him in one thing. But to love in the same way, 'the least of the brethren of Jesus,' in the persons of millions of imbruted black men, or of their bravest Deliverer, Capt. John Brown, is another religion altogether.

And I fear it is in part the sin of abolitionists, that Mr. Beecher has fallen thus. My own opinion has long been, that we were encouraging him and many others, in a very dangerous and guilty complicity with the vilest of Slaveholding and Slaveholders. And the public expression of that opinion, has sometimes been the most trying experience of my life, and indeed, has cost me much in more ways than one. But time always reveals the most hidden mystery; and will we but wait, rights every wrong.

We shall miss our noble friend Robinson in future meetings. No one has ever won more golden opinions, hereabouts, than he. Wherever he goes, he carries full assurance of a man. I never labored with more pleasure by the side of any man or woman, than by his. But my letter grows too long.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Feb. 15, 1860.

#### The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

"PROVIDENCE HAS MADE ME AN ACTOR, AND SLAVERY AN OUTLAW."—John Brown of Ossawatimie.

SALEM, OHIO, FEBRUARY 25, 1860.

#### AARON D. STEPHENS.

That John Brown and his companions accomplished a great work at Harper's Ferry for the slave's enfranchisement, no one of common intelligence, and possessing ordinary opportunities for information can deny. The deed which shall hand down to coming ages in close connection Harper's Ferry the scene, and John Brown, the actor in the great drama of the 19th century, is but poorly appreciated by Mr. Speaker Pennington, when he contemptuously styles it "a nine day's wonder."

Though the excitement attendant upon that event has measurably passed away, and the epidemic sympathy of many given place to indifference, the stern integrity of John Brown, his utter abnegation of self, his entire devotion to the great principle which recognizes the equality of man and his right to be free—a devotion attested by the seal of his life's blood—has reached thousands of hearts that have never before been moved, and whose pulsations for freedom will only be stayed by death. And while we would do all honor to John Brown as the leader of an enterprise which sought to give deliverance to the pining captive and to open the prison door to the bound and bleeding slave of the South, we would not, in our admiration of him, forget even the least of those who noble stood by him in the hour of peril. And we name with reverence the man who was worthy to be his second in command, and who was shot while bearing a flag of truce, and fell even more seriously wounded than was his leader.

Aaron D. Stephens occupied in captivity the same cell with the hero of Ossawatimie, and when the old man was about to ascend the gallows, spoke words of comfort and cheer worthy of the one to whom they were addressed, worthy of the one who spoke them, and worthy of the cause for which Captain Brown died, and for which Captain Stephens is condemned to death. If John Brown was willing to lay down his life for a people poor, persecuted, despised, and enslaved, so is Aaron D. Stephens equally willing. If John Brown could look upon the gallows with an unquailing heart, if he could suffer unshrinkingly judicial ignominy, so can Aaron D. Stephens. If John Brown should be honored as a martyr, if the day of his death should be commemorated by the friends of freedom, so also is Aaron D. Stephen, worthy of such honor, and the day of his doom equally deserving of such commemoration.

Nearly three months have elapsed since he bade a final farewell to his captain, and went back to his cell with his many unhealed wounds to await the time when he too, should be tried for the same act, and condemned to the same punishment. And bravely he has borne himself through it all. Though sick and in prison, with none to administer to his necessities, he has suffered uncomplainingly. The privations of his captivity, and the long and constant contemplation of his almost certain fate upon the gallows, have not been able to conquer the heroism of his spirit, or dim the true nobility of his soul. He meets his fate with a tranquility not surpassed even by that manifested by John Brown. All honor to the heroic defender of the rights of man! All honor to the worthy follower and companion of Ossawatimie Brown, whose spirit he will soon greet in a realm where justice is equally measured, and where those who remember in their affliction even the least of God's suffering poor, shall receive an exceeding great reward.

#### THE DIFFERENCE.

There is an anti-slavery of feeling, and an anti-slavery of Principle. The former is modified by circumstances. Its activity or inactivity depends not upon the needs of others, but upon the presence and character of particular cases, and their power to appeal to the sympathies. It is unreliable. When most needed it is not unfrequently absent. It possesses but little discrimination, often pouring itself out upon those who stand least in need of its aid, and passing unnoticed those who are far more worthy its attention.

The anti-slavery of Principle, is on the contrary, the same to-day, yesterday, and forever. Like God, from whom it emanates, it rises superior to all circumstances, and is ever reliable. Its action is graduated by the need of its presence, and its power; and it is never absent from the field of labor. It possesses eminent discrimination, judging every case by its own merits, and ignoring alike all selfish considerations, and all appeals which would limit the extent of its influences, or absorb for one that which belongs to all.

The anti-slavery of Feeling pours out its money for the redemption of beautiful slave girls, and goes into spasms of benevolence when an Octoroon presents herself in a northern church and asks for aid. The anti-slavery of Principle does more than this; it remembers the enslavement of two millions of women in this land, not all beautiful, not all Octoroons, not all capable of coming north and personally presenting their claims, some of them old, and ugly, and black, and repulsive, and it spends its money that it may so rectify public sentiment, that all shall alike be made free.

The anti-slavery of Feeling denounces the outrageous assault of Bully Brooks upon Senator Sumner. It called meetings to condemn the act, and poured out the vials of its indignation upon the perpetrator of the deed. The anti-slavery of Principle did all this, and more. While condemning the outrage of Bully Brooks in the Senate Chamber, it remembered what the anti-slavery of Feeling had forgotten, and condemned as infinitely more atrocious the outrage which he perpetrated during his entire life upon the slaves on his South Carolina plantation.

The anti-slavery of Feeling becomes indignant at the subversion of northern rights; to drive a Connecticut pedlar out of Virginia, or a Massachusetts school master from Carolina, to tar and feather a book agent from Hartford, or to threaten to lynch a drummer for a New York house, excites it almost to frenzy. The anti-slavery of Principle sees and feels, and condemns all this, and does more. It goes to the cause of those efforts, and when it finds four millions of American citizens not driven back to their homes, but denied all claim to a home, as well as all claim to humanity, its indignation is deepened and intensified, and it seeks a death grapple with slavery, and demands the enfranchisement of its victims.

The anti-slavery of Feeling weeps over the woes of the Free-State men in Kansas, buys them powder and sends them rifles, and bids them stand in defence of their rights. The anti-slavery of Principle does this, and more. It remembers the infinitely greater sufferings of the slaves of Arkansas